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E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR: STATUS OF ALLIED DISCUSSIONS ON REVISED NATO AND WP DATA IN RELATION TO A POSSIBLE REDEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES

REF: USNATO 3775

SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE TRACKS ALLIED DISCUSSION OF DATA AS IT DEVELOPED AT SPC JULY 8 MEETING THROUGH JULY 15 SPC MEETING AND WG'S JULY 16 MEETING. AIM IS TO SHOW HOW REQUIREMENT TO PROVIDE NAC GUDANCE ON A POSSIBLE REDEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES HAD ENGAGED ALLIES IN ISSUE OF IMPLICATIONS OF NEW DATA QUESTION, WHICH HAS IN TURN PROMPTED UK TO CALL FOR STUDY OF IMPLICATIONS OF AGREEING TO USE NEW ALLIED AGGREGATE OF 791,000 IN RELATION TO PROPOSED COMMON CEILING OF ABOUT 700,000. U.S. REPS IN SPC AND WH HAVE ATTEMPTED TO WEAVE IN IMPLICATIONS OF NEW DATA AS A FUNCTION OF THE GROUND FORCE SECRET

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DEFINITION QUESTION, AND HAVE THUS FAR SOUGHT TO DOWN PLAY THE ANALYSIS OF NEW ALLIED AGGREGATE. WG CHAIRMAN WILL SHORTLY CIRCULATE NATO-WIDE PROPOSALS FOR TACKLING IMPLICATIONS PROBLEM IN RELATION TO GROUND DEFINITION QUESTION, FOR CONSIDER-

ATION BY CAPITALS (WE WILL TRANSMIT SEPTEL). WG TAKES UP QUESTION AT JULY 30 MEETING, FOR WHICH WE WILL NEED GUIDANCE. END SUMMARY.

- 1. ALLIED DISCUSSION OF REDEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES ISSUE DURING JULY 5 AND 8 SPC MEETINGS HAS HAD EFFECT OF FORCING RELATED QUESTION OF "IMPLICATIONS OF USE OF NEW DATA" INTO FOREFRONT ISSUES TO BE CONSIDERED IN BRUSSELS DURING SUMMER RECESS. GENERAL SPC AGREEMENT TO AHG MAKING SIGNAL WAS PREDICATED IN PART (AS NOTED IN REF A, AND PARTICULARLY EMPHASIZED BY UK, CANADA AND DENMARK), ON EARLY NEED TO EXAMINE IMPLICATIONS OF ACTUALLY USING REVISED FIGURES IN NEGOTIATIONS.
- 2. DURING JULY 8 SPC MEETING, AND IN EFFORT TO FORSTER USE OF REVISED WP FIGURES, U.S. REP STRESSED POINT HE HAD MADE AT PREVIOUS MEETING (SEE PARA 9 REF A), THAT GROUND FORCE DEFINITION QUESTION COULD NOT REALISTICALLY BE EXAMINED WITHOUT MAKING USE OF DATA. BEST FIGURES TO BE USED WERE THOSE WHICH ALLIES HAD ACCEPTED IN WG'S PAPER, AC/276-D(74)6. CANADA, NETHERLANDS, DENMARK AND FRG AGREED WITH THIS APPROACH. EACH STRESSED. HOWEVER, THAT IMPLICATIONS OF NEW FIGURES WOULD HAVE TO BE EXAMINED BEFORE AHG COULD BE AUTHORIZED TO USE FIGURES IN NEGOTIATIONS. CANADIAN REP (BECKETT), SUPPORTED AGAIN BY DUTCH AND GERMANS, SAID THAT WG SHOULD BE TASKED WITH EXAMINING IMPLICATIONS BASED ON A SET OF SPECIFIC GUIDELINES SET BY SPC. RELYING ON U.S. REP'S REMARKS. CHARIMAN (KASTL) SAID THAT IMPLICATIONS MANDATE SHOULD THUS BE LINKED CLOSELY WITH THE CRITERIA REQUIRED FOR SANCTIONING A POSSIBLE REDIFINITION OF GROUND FORCES. HE PROPOSED, AND SPC ACCEPTED, THAT IS AND IMS REPS GET TOGETHER AND PROVIDE A TERMS OF REFERENCE PAPER FOR CONSIDERATION AT JULY 15 SPC MEETING.
- 3. COMMENT: FOREGOING WAS ESSENTIALLY THE RESULT OF U.S CORRIDOR WORK TO SEEK INSURE THAT "IMPLICATIONS OF NEW DATA" QUESTION WOULD NOT BECOME A BROADLY FORCUSSED EXERCISE. IT IS CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT ALLIES WILL NOT SANCTION USE OF NEW FIGURES IN NEGOTIATIONS UNTIL AT LEAST "IMPLICATIONS" ARE STUDIED; SECRET

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SOME WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE TO URGE THAT NO ACTION BE TAKEN UNTIL ALLIES HAVE PRODUCED NATO-AGREEDFIGURES IN MC 224 CONFERENCE. END COMMENT.

4. AT JULY 15 SPC MEETING, CHAIRMAN (KASTL) CIRCULATED A SUGGESTED TERMS OF REFERENCE PAPER WHICH HAD BEEN WORKED OUT BETWEEN IS AND IMS, BUT ALSO REFLECTED WHAT TURNED OUT TO BE A FAIRLY MAJOR UK INPUT. THRUST OF PAPER WAS THAT WG SHOULD FIRST CONSIDER MILITARY TECHNICAL IMPLICATIONS OF REVISED FIGURES AND THEN EVALUATE THE AHG'S PROPOSALS ON A GROUND FORCE REDEFINITION IN LIGHT OF CONCLUSIONS DRAWN FROM THE FIRST EXERCISE. WG SHOULD THUS EXAMINE BOTH THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE REVISED NATO AGGREGATE IN RELATION TO THE 700,000 COMMON

CEILING, AS WELL AS ANOMALIES INHERENT IN THE WP AGGREGATE.

5. COMMENT: THIS APPROACH REFLECTED THE UK'S CONTINUING VIEW THAT ANOMALIES IN THE NSWP AIR DEFENSE SECTOR MUST BE RESOLVED AND LAID OUT BEFORE ANY CONCLUSIONS ON THE GROUND FORCE REDIFINITION QUESTION COULD BE REACHED. END COMMENT.

6. DURING DISCUSSION UK REP (BAYLES) EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR TERMS OF REFERENCE PAPER AND SAID UK COULD ACCEPT IT AS A BASIS FOR FURTHER WORK. FOCUSSING HER REMARKS ON REVISED NATO FIGURES. SHE SAID THAT LONDON FELT STRONGLY THAT ALLIES MUST CONSIDER IMPLICATIONS OF THE NEW 791,000 AGGREGATE IN LIGHT OF THE PROPOSED 700,000 COMMON CEILING GROUND MANPOWER. U.S. REP SAID HE FOUND IT UNWISE TO OPEN UP DISCUSSION OF NATO DATA AT THIS TIME. BASIC REQUIREMENT WAS FOR ALLIES TO STUDY REVISED WP FIGURES IN ORDER TO GET ON WITH PRIMARY TASK OF PROVIDING EARLY GUIDANCE TO AHG. QUESTION OF NATO FIGURES WOULD NOT BE INFLUEN-TIAL IN SUCH AN ANALYSIS. FURTHERMORE, BASIC PROBLEM REGARDING NEW NATO AGGREGATE WOULD APPEAR TO BE IMPLICATIONS OF HOLDING TO 700.000 COMMON CEILING IN LIGHT OF THE REVISED NATO AGGREGATE. STUDYING SUCH A QUESTION NOW SEEMED PREMATURE, AND COULD STEER DISCUSSION INTO A VARIETY OF FIELDS IN WHICH ALLIES HAVE TAKEN NO POSITION (SUCH AS THE COMPOSITION OF PHASE II AND MODALITIES OF REDUCTIONS). SPEAKING PERSONALLY, U.S. REP ADDED HE BELIEVED U.S. WOULD NOT WISH TO EMBARK ON ANY SUCH ANALYSIS AT THIS TIME.

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- 7. UK REP REPLIED THAT LONDON WOULD BE "WORRIED" IF, AS U.S. REP SUGGESTED, ALLIES WERE TO OMIT A CONSIDERATION OF ALLIED FIGURES IN THEIR ANALYSIS OF IMPLICATIONS OF NEW DATA. THE POSSIBILITY THAT NATO MIGHT CONSIDER AN OVERALL REDUCTION ABOVE 10 PERCENT, GIVEN THE NEW AGGREGATE OF 791,000, WEIGHED SUFFICIENTLY ON THE MINDS OF HER AUTHORITIES THAT THEY BELIEVED AN EXAMINATION OF "TOLERABLE" ALLIED LEVEL DESERVED CAREFUL STUDY IN THE ALLIANCE, IRRESPECTIVE OF WHATEVER GROUND FORCE DEFINITION WAS DEVELOPED.
- 8. CANADIAN REP (BECKETT) SUPPORTED U.S. VIEWS AND THOUGHT THERE WOULD BE NO NEED TO WORK IN ANY PARTICULAR ORDER. ANALYSIS OF GROUND FORCE DEFINITION QUESTION, HE BELIEVED, WOULD INANY CASE LEAD EVENTUALLY TO A CONSIDERATION OF THE COMMON CEILING, AND ALLIES COULD TURN THEIR ATTENTION TO THE NEW NATO AGGREGATE AT THAT TIME. IMS REP (ACTING WG CHARIMAN SMITH) ALSO BELIEVED THIS WOULD BE A REASONABLE APPROACH, AND ADDED THAT THE IMPLICATIONS OF USING THE NEW ALLIED FIGURE OF 791,000 WAS SECRET

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FUNDAMENTALLY THE SIMPLE ONE OF DETERMINING WHETHER THE ALLIES COULD AFFORD AN OVERALL REDUCTION OF GREATER THAN 10 PER CENT. SUCH A CONSIDERATION COULD BE TAKEN UP BEFORE, INPARALLEL WITH, OR AFTER THE GROUND FORCE DEFINITION QUESTION. UK REP SAID LONDON FIRMLY BELIEVED CONSIDERATION OF IMPLICATIONS OF REVISED ALLIED AND WP DATA SHOULD PRECEDE STUDY OF GROUND FORCE DEFINITION QUESTION.

- 9. IN VIEW OF APPARENT STALEMATE ON QUESTION OF WHICH APPROACH TO ADOPT, CHAIRMAN SAID THAT TERMS OF REFERENCE PAPER HE HAD CIRCULATED WAS MERELY ILLUSTRATIVE, AND THAT IT WAS IN NO SENSE INTENDED AS A DOCUMENT WHOSE LANGUAGE WAS TO BE WORKED OVER AND AGREED TO. CANADIAN REP SUGGESTED THAT SINCE WG HAD STATED IN PARA 4 OF ITS LATEST DATA REPORT (AC/276-D(74)6) THAT IT WOULD BE PREPARED TO STUDY IMPLICATIONS OF THE NEW DATA IF ASKED, SPC SHOULD MERELY REQUEST IT TO DO SO, AND THUS ALLOW ALLIES TO WORK OUT THE BEST APPROACH AT TECHNICAL LEVEL. SINCE THERE WERE NO OBJECTIONS, CHAIRMAN INDICATED THAT SPC WOULD ADOPT THIS APPROACH. TERMS OF REFERENCE PAPER HAS THUS BECOME A "NON-DOCUMENT." FOR THE RECORD, WE ARE POUCHING COPIES TO STATE/RPM, DOD/ISA AND USDEL MBFR.
- 10. AT JULY 16 WG MEETING, DISCUSSION OF DATA ITEM TURNED ON (A) U.S. PROPOSAL TO ADVANCE MC 224 CONFERENCE TOGETHER WITH RELATED UK PROPOSAL--CIRCULATED AS A HANDOUT--THAT WE SUPPLY MC 224 CONFERENCE WITH STATEMENT OF DATA REQUIREMENTS ON WHICH AGREEMENT WAS NEEDED (DETAILS SEPTEL); AND (B) SPC REQUEST TO WORK ON IMPLICATIONS OF NEW DATA.
- 1. IN EFFORT TO FIND COMPROMISE FORMULATION ON LATTER QUESTION, CHAIRMAN (SMITH) SAID IT MIGHT BE USEFUL TO DISCUSS REVISED FITURES AS THEY RELATE TO NEGOTIATING REQUIREMENTS. THIS WOULD

MEAN THAT WG COULD CONCENTRATE ON GROUND MANPOWER, LEAVING AIR PERSONNEL ASIDE AND ALSO FOCUS INITIALLY ON WG DATA. UK REP (GEHRATY) IMMEDIATELY OBJECTED, AND SAID THAT HIS UNDERSTANDING HAD BEEN THAT ON PREVIOUS DAY SPC HAD AGREED TO UK PROPOSAL TO TAKE IMPLICATIONS OF DATE QUESTION FIRST. LENGTHY DISCUSSION ENSUED IN WHICH CHAIRMAN AND IS REP SOUGHT TO CLARIFY RECORD AND CLEAR UP ANY MISUNDERSTANDINGS. U.S. REP REPEATED POINTS HE HAD MADE IN SPC, AND EMPHASIZED THAT ANY DISCUSSION ON IMPLICATIONS WOULD INEVITABLY OPEN UP QUESTION OF A PHASE II REDUCTION SECRET

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PACKAGE, WHICH U.S. WAS NOT PREPARED TO DISCUSS AT PRESENT TIME. CANADIAN REP (BECKETT) AGAIN SUPPORTED U.S. REP AND SAID GROUND FORCE DEFINITION QUESTION SHOULD BE EXAMINED FIRST, SINCE IT PROVIDED AN ANCHOR ON WHICH TO FOCUS IMPLICATIONS OF USING NEW DATA QUESTION. STUDY OF IMPLICATIONS IN VACUO WOULD SEEM TO SERVE NO PURPOSE.

12. UK REP AGAIN DEMURRED AND SAID BASIC ISSUES FOR LONDON RELATIVE TO DATA WERE (A) CAN ALLIES AFFORD TO REDUCE BY MORE THAN 10 PERCENT AND (B) WHAT CONCESSIONS CAN BE MADE TO EAST--IN TERMS OF REVISING THEIR TOTAL MANPOWER AGGREGATE--SUCH THAT THE ALLIED NEGOTIATING POSITION WILL NOT BE DISADVANTAGED?

13. CHAIRMAN THEN SAID THAT, AS HE HAD OBSERVED IN SPC, QUESTION OF IMPLICATIONS OF REVISED NATO DATA RELATED ESSENTIALLY TO THE PROBLEM OF THE COMMON CEILING—10 PERCENT DICHOTOMY. ENTIRE PROBLEM COULD BE RESOLVED FOR THE PRESENT IF ALLIES ADDRESSED THEMSELVES TO THAT QUESTION ALONE. HE ASKED WHETHER UK WOULD BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT THIS NARROWER FOCUS FOR STUDY OF REVISED NATO FIGURES. AFTER UK REP RELUCTANTLY AGREED, CHAIRMAN THEN PROPOSED TRANSMITTING NATO-WIDE THREE MESSAGES WHICH WOULD SET FORTH FOR CONSIDERATION BY CAPITALS, (A) GENERAL TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE PROBLEM; (B) IMPLICATIONS OF REVISED WP DATA FOR GROUND FORCE DEFINITION QUESTION, AND (C) IMPLICATIONS OF REVISED ALLIED DATA, RESPECTIVELY. WE WILL TRANSMIT TEXTS WHEN RECEIVED. WG RETURNS TO REVISED DATA AND GROUND FORCE DEFINITION QUESTIONS ON JULY 30.

14. COMMENT: FROM HERE WE SEE NO MAJOR PROBLEMS IN HAVING ALLIES DISCUSS IMPLICATIONS OF WP DATA IN RELATION TO REVISED DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES, ON WHICH NAC MUST IN ANY CASE PROVIDE GUIDANCE TO AHG. MORE TROUBLESOME COULD BE THE STUDY OF IMPLICATIONS OF THE REVISED NATO AGGREGATE. AS A RESULT OF OUR DMAGE-LIMITING EFFORTS WE THINK PROBLEM CAN BE CONTAINED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE COMMON CEILING--10 PERCENT TOTAL ALLIED REDUCTIN DICHOTOMY.

12. UK, OBVIOUSLY NATO MILITARY (AT LEAST AT STAFF LEVEL)
APPEAR TO BE INCREASINGLY CONCERNED OVER PROSPECT THAT ALLIED
REDUCTIONS COULD EXCEED AN OVERALL 10 PERCENT REDUCTION LEVEL.
THIS, WE WOULD JUDGE, IS DRIVEN BY THEIR VIEW THAT FIGURE OF

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 $7000,\!000$  TO DEFINE THE COMMON CEILING HAS ACQUIRED MUCH GREATER SPECIFICITY AND PRECISION THAN ALLIES ORIGINALLY INTENDED.

13. WHETHER ALLIES SHOULD BASE THEIR REDUCTIONS ON A MAXIMUM OF 10 PERCENT, IRRESPECTIVE OF THE NATO AGGREGATE, OR WHETHER THE 700,000 COMMON CEILING IS TO BECOME A NEW PASIS FOR CALCULATING ALLIED REDUCTIONS,IS THUS THE CENTRAL QUESTION WHICH UK AND PROBABLY NATO MILITARY ARE PROBLING. IF WASHINGTON FAVORS THE FORMER (AND AS FAR AS ALLIES ARE CONCERNED, THE CONSISTENTLY HELD ALLIED) APPROACH, WE WOULD SEE IMPLICATIONS OF REVISED DATA QUESTION LARGELY DISSOLVING AS IT RELATES TO THE NEW NATO AGGREGATE. IF THE LATTER,WE WOULD FORESEE A MAJOR DEBATE DEVELOPING IN ALL NATO FORA IN WHICH MBFR IS REGULARLY DISCUSSED. WE THERE FORE BELIEVE U.S. SHOULD SPEAK TO THIS QUESTION AT AN EARLY OPPORTUNITY. END COMMENT. RUMSFELD

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